771
775 Man was higher on the scale than woman.[20] Progress toward
[562] Nipphan was not assured but had to be earned. With sinful behavior a person might be catapulted back to being a beast. He who stole would "be born and die 500 times before he could even grow up." Almost everyone had to be sent to purgatory
[776] where demons carried on tortures until he had suffered enough to be released for rebirth. The evil spirits (phĭ) that wandered frighteningly in Bang Chan were part of the legions whose job was to increase deserved suffering on this earth.

771 The people of Bang Chan felt they could discern even
782 of themselves who was meritful and who was not according to
828 human circumstances, constitution, and behavior. A meritorious person was healthy, happy, and successful in all undertakings. He enjoyed good health and long life, a kindly personality, many fine children, wealth, high status, intelligence, and luck. Astrologically, he was born on a day
[775] of good confluences, of gold and auspicious signs. He who lacked merit, because of sins committed perhaps many ages ago, was born on an unfortunate day. He suffered early death, deformities, unhappiness, poverty, and had a cruel nature.
[753] Illness, whether supernatural or natural, whether induced by wind or sorcery or what, struck as part of the suffering brought on by former sin. It was accepted in the conviction that whoever suffered had brought it on himself. When merit ran out, or when sin cancelled out and then exceeded one's merit, suffering and premature death occurred, despite all human efforts. Because of the prevalence of illness and of life's difficulties, major and minor, no one, no matter how outwardly fortunate and so evidently meritorious, had at this earthly level of existence enough merit to escape some suffering and frustration. By the same token, though, no person was without hope. By making merit or by suffering in this life, existence would be happier in the next. The making of merit was in the forefront of daily conscious effort and even conversations of the people of Bang Chan.

75
786 The long-range protection against all illness was to
[577] live virtuously and make merit. However, to guard against temporary supernatural intrusions, everyone possessed and usually wore Buddha lockets and other amulets. Some
[782] underwent tatooing, men having Cambodian or other figures,
[304] women, 2 small dots tatooed on the torso under the arm.

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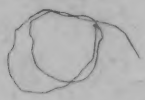
20. Men had achieved greater "other-worldliness" while women were more bound by the phenomena of the flesh (cf. Kirsch, 1961).

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan
Thailand AO1



fundamentals of that structure or of the ultimate values upon which it is based. In a very real sense, the educated group is a class with a vested interest. Consequently it is conservative and pragmatic rather than radical and speculative . . .

The closest approximation to a psychological literature resulting from these fundamental intellectual orientations are religious and secular didactic essays, public school texts on morality, self-help or "peace of mind" tracts, and satirical or didactic fiction and poetry. (Mosel 1961 provides an excellent discussion of contemporary Thai poetry.)

Addressed to the reading public at large, these writings do not purport to be concerned with any particular group or class of Thai society: peasants, Bangkokians, Northeasterners, or others. Since they are for the most part written by the educated elite, however, they tend to reflect their authors' interests and standards. To what extent their standards differ from those held by peasants is difficult to determine with precision, although impressionistically it would seem that in psychological questions the educated elite give considerably more attention to the importance of social forms, the desirability of pleasing others, and also reveal a greater sense of compulsiveness, achievement, and social uneasiness than do peasants. Villagers simply seem more relaxed and self-accepting. However, these differences are very much a matter of degree. A Bang Chan child who learns about proper modes of behavior from *Sombad Khoon Phuu Dii*, discussed below, may not have the same compulsion nor experience the same pressures to implement his studies as does the child of the Ministry of Education official who wrote the text. However, he thoroughly understands the teachings, their relevance and importance; knowing them is part of being Thai. A few illustrations will provide some of the flavor of these writings.

One of Thailand's most famous men of letters is M. R. Khukrit Pramoj, a publisher, editor, author, lecturer, and recently, movie actor. Educated in England and a member of the royalty, he is known to most Westerners as a kind of Siamese equivalent of Henry R. Luce, but to most Thai (although to no more than a handful of Bang Chaners, the majority having never even heard his name) he is known for his all-around knowledge of human affairs. His most popular work is *Panhaa Pracamwan*, or *Problems of Everyday Life*, a multi-volumed set of dialogues based on a column he wrote for his own newspaper in which he answers questions from hypothetical individuals who have "written" for advice on problems of ordinary living. These problems concern such matters as how to handle one's jealousy, how to treat those below and above one in the hierarchy, and how to control one's feelings of spleen and anger.

The following excerpt from volume iv of these essays (1952: 337–339) is not only representative of Khukrit's thinking, but bespeaks a

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

114 villagers of Bang Chan. Although in their eyes he probably never ceased being identified in some ways with the *farang*, he was defined primarily as "one of us." He helped reinforce this definition by referring to himself and the villagers as "we Thai" or "we Thai farmers," as contrasted with the *farang*. Often, not out of any enmity but simply because he had a ready foil, he would make fun of my *farang* ways for the benefit of the villagers. It was conduct like this, repeatedly expressed, that permitted him later to ask the villagers their opinions of the *farang* without raising any eyebrows. On the other hand, when the need arose, he readily assumed the role of the gentle, guiding, probing representative of the research who, in his efforts to get the villagers to participate, would appeal to everything from pride in country ("Don't you want the *farang* to know the true way we Thai people think") to the principle of reciprocity ("We do a favor for *Aacaan* Herb by helping him pass his examination, and he helps us by bringing us fame").

The two female graduate students who worked part-time were not as distinctive as their male counterpart, but in their own way, were equally as effective in the research. One was the daughter of a high-ranking Army Officer School teacher; the other was the daughter of a low-level bureaucrat. In their early twenties, they had been closest friends during college and graduate studies. To a certain extent, they were prototypes of the upper-middle-class, college educated Thai female.[2] Confident about their 114 562 professional abilities and aware of how much they are needed, they are caught in the conflict of whether to participate in "worldly affairs" and thus • 577 become independent and admired social leaders, or to become wives and mothers, and thus live in the shadows of their husbands. Their problem, unlike the case in the United States, is that both alternatives are equally valued and equally available and that because the social need is so great, they can actually become leaders with not too much effort. The conflict is further aggravated by the fact that they come from the social class that emphasizes a double sexual standard. At the same time as they are expected to be assertive and competent in their jobs, they are also expected to be sweet, docile, and compliant females. They resolve this conflict to a large

[159] [2] The daughter of the lower-level bureaucrat had this status by virtue of her own accomplishment, not her father's. In fact, one of the most touching scenes I ever observed in Thailand was when the girl's entire family assembled at Don Muang Airport to see her off to the United States where she had won a graduate fellowship. She had become the hope and pride of her family. Her mother, in the traditional cropped hair style of the Thai female and her mouth stained with betel juice, was trying to stand on the pair of oversized high heels that she had bought especially for the occasion. Tears were flowing down her eyes, both in pride over her daughter and because she could hardly walk on her first pair of "modern" shoes. My male assistant, in his inimitable way, turned to me and whispered: "Khun Maeae [the honored mother] wants to be just like her successful daughter."

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

extent by becoming succoring females—taking care of the less fortunate, seeking opportunities where they can help others, and the like.

The relevance of these remarks to the work of the assistants in Bang Chan is that they represent the attitudes the girls brought into play in their relationships with the villagers. In the eyes of Bang Chaners, they were well-educated, high status city girls who combined the finest qualities of the Thai woman. They were not only clever because they carried clipboards and spoke two languages but they were "good" girls who used "sweet words" and proper terms of address and "brought us medicine when we were ill. They knew how to help farmers." In contrast to my own practice—which was to give villagers aspirin only if they explicitly asked for help, or if the problem was more serious to plead incompetence—their actions were entirely spontaneous. In the same way, villagers would often wonder why after working all week at the university, these girls would spend their Sundays and holidays in Bang Chan. The answer was not hard for them to find: "These girls have much progress. They want to help the nation and themselves. So they come here and work for *Aacaan* Herb. This will help them go to America. And then they will have more progress." Although this motive may have entered into the assistants' decisions, a more important reason was the simple pleasure they derived from listening to villagers bare their problems and preoccupations. By giving of their time and interest they were fulfilling their own best image of themselves.

A final word should be said about the various relationships existing among the assistants and myself. The relationships that developed among the assistants themselves was perhaps the ideal Thai adjustment to the unique situation in which these three young, unmarried people found themselves: they began to treat each other like brothers and sisters. Theirs was not a perfect sibling relationship—not even in the fictive sense, for they were keenly aware of their differences in background and of the desirability of keeping romantic considerations out of the relationship. However, their very differences in background helped form a bond of mutual respect.

Their attitudes toward the author were more complicated. Although in many ways they treated me too as a sibling, their attitudes were forever colored by the fact that I was a *farang*. On the positive side, this meant that they respected me for my technical training and knowledge, and for my obvious concern about learning as much as I could about the villagers. By the same token, however, they would frequently become annoyed by my inability to see things which in Thai terms were obvious, or by my insistence on probing matters that in their terms were either unanswerable or better left unexamined. Their attitudes toward me were not too different

57 125

53. Which of the following six qualities do you feel is the best thing for man: Virile, friendly, educated, rich, religious, lazy? [577]

5.	To be virile	2
6.	To be friendly	31
7.	To be educated	56
8.	To be rich	43
9.	To be religious	126
X.	Not to be lazy	57
Y.	Unascertainable	15
—	No Answer	3

54. Do you drink tea frequently, occasionally, seldom, or never? [272]

1.	Often	22
2.	Occasionally	68
3.	Seldom	158
4.	Never	85

55. Do you drink whiskey frequently, occasionally, seldom, or never? [273]

5.	Often	29
6.	Occasionally	73
7.	Seldom	157
8.	Never	74
9.	Unascertainable	—

56.a. In Thailand are many people who smoke opium. Excuse me, during your life have you ever smoked opium, or not? [276]

1.	Yes	45
2.	No	287
3.	Unascertainable	1

b. IF NO: Excuse me, do you think there is anything wrong with smoking opium, or not?

4.	Yes, it is wrong	261
5.	No, it is not wrong	5
6.	Unascertainable	1

c. IF SOMETHING WRONG: What are the various reasons why you think it is wrong?

7.	Bad for health	43
8.	Habit forming	62
9.	Waste of money	220
X.		
Y.	Other reasons, specify_____	40
0.	Unascertainable	

57.a. In the last month, how many times did you go to Nikhori or didn't you go at all? [484]

0.	Did not go at all	67
1.	Once	55
2.	2 to 4 times	130
3.	5 to 9 times	70
4.	10 to 19 times	30
5.	20 times or more	20
6.	Unascertainable	8

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

*243 427 464 423 thus could freely choose the proper size of their farms.

To be sure, some of the other 205 operators in the land scarce group could rent in enough additional parcels to make an efficient-sized farm. The preliminary study in 1948-49, however, reveals that of 104 farms under study 87 were under-sized. The point we want to make in this section is that there are considerations other than economic interest which preclude the attainment of a most favorable farm size by some of these land scarce operators. In the study of labor utilization on Chom Farm, it was seen that preparation of the fields was finished long before the deadline, indicating that the land input could be increased or labor input could be decreased. If Chom wanted to rent in an additional parcel of five rai, the problem presented would not be simple. In the first place, all rice land in the village had been filled up, so Chom's additional parcel had to be one that had been operated by a neighbor of his. [587] Unless this neighbor had expressed an intention to quit this parcel, conscience alone would prevent Chom from outbidding the other person for the parcel. Second, although lease of land was on a one-year basis, in practice the landlord usually rented his lands continuously to the same tenants. If the landlord wanted to operate a certain parcel himself, the former tenant might think that it was reasonable enough to abandon the parcel. But it was inconceivable that he should leave the parcel so that another tenant could operate it. Third, the additional parcel should not be too far away